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nothing from this war unless it culminates in a union of liberal peoples pledged to coöperate in the settlement of all outstanding questions, sworn to turn against the aggressor, determined to erect a larger and more modern system of international law upon a federation of the world. That is what we are fighting for, at this moment, on the ocean, in the shipyard and in the factory, later perhaps in France and Belgium, ultimately at the council of peace.

If we are strong enough and wise enough to win this victory, to reject all the poison of hatred abroad and intolerance at home, we shall have made a nation to which free men will turn with love and gratitude. For ourselves we shall stand committed as never before to the realization of democracy in America. We who have gone to war to insure democracy in the world will have raised an aspiration here that will not end with the overthrow of the Prussian autocracy. We shall turn with fresh interests to our own tyrannies—to our Colorado mines, our autocratic steel industries, our sweatshops and our slums. We shall call that man un-American and no patriot who prates of liberty in Europe and resists it at home. A force is loose in America as well. Our own reactionaries will not assuage it with their Billy Sundays or control through lawyers and politicians of the Old Guard.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR MISSION IN THIS WAR

BY MILES M. DAWSON, LL.D.,

New York.

The part which the United States should play in the war, and in making the treaty of peace, should be determined by the things upon which this government rests, for which it stands and the practicability of which it has demonstrated.

These fundamental things, as is recognized throughout the world, with dread by beneficiaries of autocracy, with tears and thanksgiving by friends of freedom, are few, but most important to mankind. Our triumphant justification of them brought together, out of all the nations of Europe, this great people, enabled France to find her way to a stable republic, made all American states republican, liberalized all governments the world over and, as a lode-

star, drew the half-wakened peoples of China and of Russia along the road to freedom under institutions modelled on our own.

These fundamentals may be epitomized into five:

1. The inalienable right of every man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—not as a mere dead saying, but as a living reality.

2. The right of local self-government, within territories possessing or entitled to claim such right, embracing every power of government not expressly granted to the union.

3. The guaranty to each state of a forum for the redress of grievances of one state against another with full power to enforce the verdict of that forum.

4. The guaranty of a republican form of government to each constituent state.

5. The right and duty to maintain the union.

The United States, though by tradition and on principle neutral as regards quarrels between European nations, is forced into this war to defend the lives of its own citizens, engaged in peaceful pursuits and protected by international law and solemn treaties. The crucial issue which has driven our republic into the arena is to champion what the fathers of the republic rightly termed the inalienable rights of man. It would be quite impossible for this nation to retrace the step which it has taken, were the central powers merely to offer to respect the rights of our citizens and to make amends; the issue now is that, as regards all neutrals peaceably attending to their own business, these inalienable rights must be respected. The other things for which this nation stands are not involved so openly; they are not directly at issue. But are they not likely, even almost certain, to be determined at the same time and by the same arbitrament and thus the principles which our nation has established by demonstrating their practicability, to be incorporated into the treaty of peace?

For instance, what else does the proposition signify that small and weak nations shall be protected and be preserved, but that states and their peoples shall enjoy the right of self-government? And that this is to be protected implies, in turn, that the union of states which is to protect it, shall, acting together, be granted authority to adjust interstate issues and to enforce the verdict. Is not recognition of this essential, if situations like that which arose regarding Serbia are to be dealt with otherwise than by war? Or if

violation of neutrality and destruction of small nations, such as in the case of Belgium, are to be avoided?

It is a long step toward the realization of the fourth principle, that each such state should be guaranteed a republican form of government; but it seems not unlikely that it will be taken. Casting off their shackles, the peoples of China and of Russia have shown not only that Germans, Austrians and Turks might do likewise, but also that, in order to avoid the loss of honor and a remnant of power, monarchs may be inclined to yield the real reins of government to representative assemblies. This may, and probably will, be as far as this principle will be realized at present in some of the countries; but even so, it could not be expected that the peace of nations would be preserved if each were to be exposed to the peril of overthrow of its constitution by a tyrant. No union of nations, whether formally so organized or not, could maintain itself, without defending each nation in the enjoyment of republican institutions. The guaranty must, in the nature of things, be given; whether openly or impliedly, while important, is not all-important.

The United States has found it unavoidable to accept the burden of this guaranty even as regards states with which it has no express or binding union. Thus it has had to protect Mexico against the overturn of its republican government by Huerta, and Cuba against a like overturn by Gomez, not to speak of intervention in San Domingo and Costa Rica. It will also be impossible to avoid such guaranty, when, through some sort of joint agency, the nations undertake to protect the sovereignty of individual states, *viz.*, a guaranty that the peoples are really represented—even though in some cases misrepresented—in the government of the states that compose the union of nations.

The fifth fundamental principle, that such union of nations must be maintained and that no nation will be permitted to withdraw, may seem yet further from realization. Indeed it is not probable that it will be included in any treaty. But one must remember it was not in the federal constitution; yet it was enforced when secession was attempted. Secession from the union of states, composing this nation, is thinkable, however; but is it even thinkable that, once a world union is established, any nation would be permitted to retire?

Consider that, if the other nations remained united and were

much the stronger, it would mean that the withdrawing nation would be subject to their discipline but without a voice in their councils. This, only to enable it to shirk the common burden! If it sought to withdraw, rather than submit to control for the common good, that could not be suffered; if it withdrew as an act of defiance, its challenge would have to be accepted or the union would fall apart. The logic of events would thus compel the maintenance of the union.

Even by men who give much attention to international subjects and the study of government, it is not always so clearly seen as it should be that this nation has demonstrated that all these five things of so great importance to mankind are actually realizable. Yet this is the crowning achievement of the United States! Fewer, no doubt, have appreciated that already several of these things have proved necessary as an extra-territorial exercise of this nation's powers. Yet this is evidence of the great service of the United States in showing the way and of the great need for the extension of these principles to all nations.

Out of this example set by our nation and out of its righteous participation in this war with these purposes in view, there should come the application of these principles to the solution of the world's problems as the practical way to guarantee liberty to all nations, all peoples, all men.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WAR

BY SAMUEL T. DUTTON, LL.D.,
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For nearly one hundred and fifty years we have been engaged in building a nation. At the bottom of all our endeavors there was a religious spirit and we have developed a tradition for honesty and fair dealing. We fought for liberty and for the preservation of the Union. As we review the history of those conflicts our conscience is clear. Great benefits have come to the world because liberty and union have triumphed on this continent. Other occasions where we have taken up arms we do not review with the same complacency. Our territory is vast and full of potential wealth and no longer can we say of different sections of our domain that the inhabitants are English or Dutch or Spanish. America is the home of all peoples